2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

754 The most celebrated healer in Tepoztlán is one Rosalino Vargas, known as Don Rosas. He is believed to be a powerful sorcerer and is feared by many of the 756 villagers. Some people claim to have seen him riding through the town at midnight wearing a long black cape, with sparks issuing forth from his eyes and mouth. Don Rosas, who often uses the fear he inspires to his own advantage, has several enemies, at least three of whom made attempts to murder him in recent years. Don Rosas is wealthy and has a flourishing practice. He has seven female assistants; there is much gossip to the effect that these women are his paramours who sleep with him in turns, one for each day in the week. Don Rosas' loyal clientele insist that the seven women help him treat the sick and perform a series of mysterious devotions which he practices nearly every night.

755 The technique employed by Don Rosas on his patients contains an interesting combination of Catholic, pagan, and possibly African elements. He does not deal 787 directly with a patient but gets information concerning the nature of the illness through an assistant who questions the patient. After the conference the patient is taken to a room which resembles a chapel in that it has an altar and images of saints. The patient is seated on a chair close to a heavy curtain behind which sits Don Rosas. The visitor is given an image of a saint to hold while the *curandero* prays and goes into a trance. When he is "as if dead" an assistant wafts incense smoke toward him and he begins to speak, as though from a deep sleep, telling what illness the patient is suffering from. Whether or not a cure is possible is determined by a glass of water which has been placed among the images near the incense burner. If the water turns white there is hope for a cure, if black there is none. If a remedy is possible, Don Rosas then points out the necessary steps to protect the individual and his family from the enemy who is provoking the symptoms.

755 The patient must drink a sweet-sour tasting liquid, prepared by Don Rosas and stirred with a metal cross. The patient then pays two pesos for the cure but first must "cleanse" himself with the bills in the parts of his body which give him pain, and leave the money on the altar. Before leaving, the patient is given additional medicines to take each night and is generally advised to "cleanse" himself with very hot herb applications. More medicine is given as needed without charge and the patient is advised that the medicine must never be placed on the ground since it would lose its potency. Some patients need several consultations, all of which are conducted in the same manner, before they feel well again.

[754] The traditional remedies for evil eye and *espanto* (fright) involve a combination [753] of folk beliefs, ancient herbal lore, and Catholic practice. A child is believed to be the victim of the evil eye if he comes home crying and very much disturbed. An egg is broken into a glass and if a long eye-shaped spot appears on the yolk, the person who put the eye upon the child is a man; if the spot is round, it is a woman. The child's clothes are changed and he is "cleansed" with a soiled kerchief or shirt if the guilty person was male, and with an apron or *reboso* if a female. Some children are cured by being "cleansed" on their foreheads, with the tongue making the form of a cross.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
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Second, as we shall see, there are good reasons for believing that much the same thing would have happened even if the service had been excellent and the physical facilities exemplary. Although we cannot discount completely the effect of dissatisfaction over the quality of the clinical service, it will become apparent that other forces at work in Tepoztlán exerted greater influence. To discern the nature of these forces we must look to the general climate of the village, particularly the medical and political climate.

The Medical Climate of Tepoztlán

The trial clinic on the central plaza of Tepoztlán was not introduced into a medical vacuum. On the contrary, it found itself within a milieu of well-established medical beliefs and theories of disease and within a network of traditional practitioners whose curative techniques reflected these beliefs and theories.

There are three kinds of health practitioners in Tepoztlán—curanderos, *mágicos*, and "el doctor." Curanderos are the most numerous and are primarily women. They are visited most frequently and charge small fees of 25 or 50 centavos. There are two mágicos, men who may use the herb remedies of the women but also resort to spiritualism and magic and are feared for their great power. Their fees are higher, ranging between one and ten pesos. The curanderos and mágicos are, of course, Tepoztecans. However, "el doctor" is an outsider who has taken up residence in the village. He poses as a doctor but has no professional training. He charges fees as high as 100 pesos. Curanderos are sometimes paid in corn or other produce. This is one of the very few remnants of the old barter economy and indicates how closely the curandero system and the native economy were integrated. With the increasing dominance of a money economy there is now more cash available, and some families visit the doctors in Cuernavaca.

There was no resident doctor in 1943, but the villagers had had some previous experience with doctors and modern medicine. Two young Mexican doctors had spent six months each in the village in fulfillment of their training requirements for the doctor's degree. Public health teams had visited the village frequently since 1936 to administer injections against infectious diseases;